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ABSTRACT

Choosing six Mexican newspapers representing an ideological range from liberal to conservative, a study analyzed the content of the newspapers' editorials and political columns from 1951 through 1980. Data established that Mexican newspapers, contrary to many critics' judgments, criticized government policies and political figures. They did, however, treat the presidents more gently than cabinet members, not usually criticizing them directly. While conservative newspapers tended to criticize liberal presidents, the amount of criticism all newspapers engaged in fluctuated. (MM)

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International Communication Division

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

IN MEXICAN PRESS COMMENTARY ON GOVERNMENT:

1951-1980

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CS 207 752

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
IN MEXICAN PRESS COMMENTARY ON GOVERNMENT: 1951-1980

Since World War II, interest has increased in the way the mass media function in countries with different kinds of government. One of the byproducts of this interest has been debate over "freedom of the press." In worldwide studies in which judges estimate press freedom, most Latin American nations score in the middle to low range. Mexico--the focus of this study--scored in the "free, many controls" category in Lowenstein's study (1966), a position similar to that it achieved in other studies.

The Lowenstein study, like most of the others reviewed for this study, used criteria other than what the newspapers published to determine press freedom levels; content, as such, was not identified as a separate object of comment. However, Kent argues that the concept press freedom must be clearly defined and its various dimensions identified before meaningful press freedom theory can develop. Content is one of the four dimensions of the concept that his work suggests; the four dimensions he identified are 1/ legal sanctions 2/ extent to which legal sanctions are applied 3/ extent to which non-legal sanctions are applied and 4/ the actual degree of ideological differences with government expressed in the press (1972, pp. 65-75). While the absence of governmental interference in press operation is one commonly accepted definition of press freedom (Weaver, 1977, p. 152, p. 156), one way of examining whether government is interfering is to analyze what newspapers print.

This study takes its definition of press freedom from the expected outcome of a lack of governmental interference--commentary on government that includes criticism. It is assumed that the press, left free to comment as it wishes on government, will present a range of opinion, some praising and some negatively

evaluative of government. Other pressures surely affect how the press treats government, but governmental restrictions are the surest way to stop criticism.

Through content analysis, this study examined commentary on the federal government over a 30-year period. The main goal was to chart commentary on the central political characters in the federal government--the president and the Cabinet. Literature suggests these research questions:

1. Do Mexican newspapers criticize the president?

While there are some indications that sporadic critical comments on the president appear in the press, most writing about the Mexican press says that the president is immune to criticism.

2. Are Cabinet officials criticized more often than the president? The assumption in much writing about the Mexican press is that, since newspapers can't criticize the president, they criticize his ministers.

3. Are comments on the president straightforward and clear, or are they ambiguous, difficult to understand?

This question is prompted by criticism of the Mexican journalistic style of writing and secretive political system. This study seeks to determine whether commentary might be understood by the common reader or whether criticism is presented in literary allusions or other obscure forms accessible to only the inner circle in Mexican politics.

BACKGROUND

Mexican journalism literature suggests that, historically, there have been great fluctuations in what the press writes about government. Torres, in perhaps the best concise summary of the relationship between Mexican journalism and government to the mid 1930s, said the path to press freedom has been "an endless zigzag" (1937, p. 82). The pendulum swung from freedom of the press to intransigence and persecution, he said, with presidents beginning their terms "full of good ideas." Soon, however, they became "supersensitive, touchy, tyrannical...incapable of serenely resisting criticism and of

ignoring insults" (Ibid., p. 80). At various times since Independence in the early 19th Century, Mexican journalists have been killed, jailed, sent into exile, bribed and otherwise mistreated. Other Mexican journalism students refer to periods of press intemperance and newspapers' loss of virility in the post-Revolutionary era (Lepidus, Knudson).

Many scholars characterize the Mexican press as subservient to government. Mexico's newspapers are called "public forums" for members of the dominant political party (Reavis, 1978, p. 191) and "factual deserts" (Stevens, 1974, p. 30). Journalistic criticism of government, Stevens wrote, is confined to "sporadic barking, rather than sustained attempts to bite" (Ibid., p. 30). The Index on Censorship said domestic news is manipulated by flattery, bribes and economic pressure "together with a common understanding of the news that's fit to print" ("Mexico: Readjusting the Veil"). The government withholds facts on which the press could base criticism, but official censorship has been unnecessary because of self-censorship (Taylor, 1976; Nunez, 1977).

It is generally accepted that the Mexican press does not criticize the president. This comment is typical:

> Throughout Mexico it has become difficult in recent years to find criticism of public officials in daily newspapers, except for the few scandal sheets where partisan polemics border on defamation....In general, the Mexican mass media traditionally do not criticize the President of the Republic directly, but do sometimes criticize his cabinet ministers" (Merrill, Bryan and Alisky, 1972, p. 181).

Rota's 1970 content analysis of five Mexico City newspapers indicated that on many days, even the "prestige" newspapers avoided mentioning the president and other high officials (1970).

On the other hand, some scholars have pointed to a few instances of press criticism of presidents and a change in the attitude of at least portions of the press. Aleman, president from 1946 through 1952, was criticized (Cole, 1972, p. 78), and Octavio Paz wrote that Excelsior, the most highly touted paper

in Mexico City, published "what many others wanted to and could not say" (Quoted without citation in Pierce, 1979, p. 116). Stevens, too, said Excelsior was "frankly critical" of Echeverria, who was president from 1970 through 1976 (1974, p. 35), and Adler pointed to "a perceptible loosening of government censorship" (1978, pp. 151-152).

Perhaps one other factor causing observers to express differing opinions on how Mexican newspapers write about government is the style of writing. Sentences tend to be much longer, more convoluted, than U.S. newswriting style permits. The Mexican journalistic writing style, Stevens suggested, masks criticism and makes commentary on government difficult to understand. "Headlines scream, news stories bellow, and columnists and cartoonists belabor 'enemies of the Revolution' with sledgehammer sarcasm" (1974, p. 30). Yet she also says that newspapers comment on government "with prudence and euphemisms...without offending powerful people" (Ibid., p. 45). Merrill et al. note that news story leads are "involved," but they say editorials contain "some of the best writing in the country" (1972, p. 182). Torres contrasted U.S.- and Mexican-style journalistic writing by saying Mexico's writers were "men of letters" interested in form as well as substance (1937, p. 60). These comments, however, make it doubtful that Mexican readers can interpret all the material.

DESIGN OF THIS STUDY

To examine press commentary on the federal government, this study content analyzed editorials and political columns in six newspapers from 1951 through 1980; the period begins during the presidential term of the first recent president said to have been criticized directly, Aleman (Cole, 1972, p. 78). The six newspapers in the sample were chosen to represent the ideological range of mass-circulated newspapers, from liberal to conservative, and because they were published across the 30-year time span of the study. The three Mexico City newspapers chosen are Excelsior, Novedades and El Nacional, the federal government's

official organ. Excelsior historically has been known for its open opposition to the government and the Revolution (Rojas Avendano, 1962, p. 626) and its reporting on diverse social classes and their problems (Rio Reynaga, 1972, p. 6). Under Julio Garcia Scherer from 1968 to 1976, the paper became increasingly identified with leftist causes. Novedades, a mainstream paper identified with business interests moreso than causes, "supports some of the essential ideas of social and economic transformation," Rojas Avendano wrote (1962, p. 630). El Nacional's news approach is objective and its editorials reflect "the official point of view of the Mexican government" (Rio Reynaga, 1972, p. 7). The regional newspapers all come from the mainstream of Mexican journalism. Each is privately owned and partly supported by advertising. El Informador is located in a state that has given the official party less electoral support than the national average in each election during the study period. The newspaper merits the influence it has and "is probably preferred over all newspapers" in the state, Velasco Valdes wrote (1955, p. 200). El Dictamen, Mexico's oldest newspaper, is located in the capital of one of Mexico's poorer states, Veracruz. The state has supported the official party heavily; electoral support for the PRI presidential candidate ranged from a low of 89.9 percent to a high of 97.6 over the study period. The newspaper "has suffered great vicissitudes; employee conflicts, economic crisis, official persecution and hostilities and envy...but in each case it has maintained itself as an important and dignified newspaper" (Velasco Valdes, 1955, p. 158). El Norte in Monterrey was known in 1972 for its yellow journalism and for having been the voice of a wealthy industrialist. It was not known, one critic said, for its objectivity (Rio Reynaga, p. 10). However, by the 1970s, the newspaper had modernized and began to reflect the views of business, particularly the preference of private capitalism over state involvement in commerce. Nuevo Leon,

where Monterrey is located, has become one of Mexico's wealthier and least PRI-dominated states. In 1976, only 74 percent of the presidential votes went to the PRI candidate, compared with 85.1 percent nationwide. Conservative Partido Accion Nacional (PAN) dominates in Nuevo Leon to a greater degree than in almost any part of Mexico. (For more information on the individual newspapers, see Merrill et al., pp. 182-185; Alisky, 1981, pp. 40-46, p. 50; Pierce, 1979, pp. 116-118.)

A random sample of 10 issues a year was chosen by computer. Analysis was limited to articles that commented on the president and his administration; cabinet ministers were included in the analysis but sub-secretaries were not. The author identified all editorials and columns that mentioned the president or secretaries, and Mexican graduate students who analyzed content scanned articles rejected by the author to make sure that all relevant material was included. Editorials were identified by their format and placement on the page; in no case did the author or coders have difficulty identifying editorials whether they were on the front page or on an inside page. Columns, which were spread from the front page to inside pages, were easily identified by logos or bylines. All material on pages marked "editorial" was read. Since the study's main objective was to identify evaluative commentary--praise and criticism--news articles were excluded.

The coding sheet (Appendix A) asked the analysts to specify the official or officials discussed in the article and to mark the criticism-to-praise scale for each article. They were instructed to consider the seven steps to be equidistant. Criticism and praise distinctions hinged on the words used and coders' perceptions of the author's intent. Criticism was defined as negative evaluative statements, while praise was defined as positive evaluative statements. In addition, if an article failed to make explicit evaluative statements about

a government official but presented him in a bad light by associating him with officials, issues or events that were being negatively evaluated, coders were instructed to code the article as criticizing the official indirectly. The same procedure was followed with positive comments not explicitly directed at the official.

The initial coder-reliatiliby test between two coders produced a Pearson's correlation of .71; these coders were retrained as the third coder was trained. Subsequent correlations were .81 between each pair. Rarely did coders differ on whether an article was critical or laudatory; most differences in coding were of one step on the scale, that is, one coder marked an article as a 1 (strongest criticism), while another marked it as a 2 (strong criticism).

Altogether, 1,425 editorials and columns were analyzed. Appendix B lists issues of each newspaper that could not be obtained; the sample was least complete for El Norte, and many issues of El Dictamen could not be obtained. The number of articles analyzed for each newspaper for each year is listed in Appendix C.

FINDINGS

The content analysis produced several surprises. Criticism in the highly touted Excelsior of Julio Garcia Scherer, who was ousted as editor in 1976 in what is generally regarded as an Echeverria-backed coup, was much greater than that in the other two Mexico City newspapers included in this study. Table 1 reports the percentage of

each newspaper's commentary that is critical by presidential term, and Table 2 gives the score on the criticism-to-praise scale by newspaper and by year. From Table 1, it can be seen than Excelsior's criticism jumped from 39 percent under Diaz Ordaz to 56 percent of all articles analyzed under Echeverria. Criticism dropped to 42 percent under Lopez Portillo, whether because of the new, less-critical editor installed after Julio Garcia Scherer or because the newspaper was more closely attuned to the president's philosophy.

Generally, the newspapers were at their least critical under Lopez Mateos, one of the most liberal presidents during the study period. Curiously, however, conservative Novedades was at its most critical under the charismatic Lopez Mateos. Since he focused much of his energy on social programs, business-oriented Novedades apparently took issue with the thrust of his programs. Although none of the 10 sample issues for 1960 was missing for Novedades, coders found only three articles that dealt with the president; their mean score was 3, the lowest annual mean except for 1978, Table 2 shows. Figure 1 graphs the scores.

These tables also indicate that two regional newspapers, El Informador of Guadalajara and El Norte of Monterrey, were more critical than even Excelsior during many years. Perhaps the geographic separation from the national capital lessens fear of recrimination, or perhaps these traditionally independent cities simply have

philosophies that differ markedly from those of the men who accede to the presidency. Interestingly, El Dictamen, in Veracruz, where Aleman was state governor before he became president, was much less critical during the time covered in this study than either of the other regional newspapers. Apparently this newspaper's philosophy is much more closely attuned to the prevailing political line than it had been under its legendary founder, Juan Malpica Silva, who was once jailed for his opposition to the federal government.

Differences among the newspapers can be seen in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 shows the annual mean score for each newspaper, and Table 3 shows the percentage of the sample and the percentage of criticism in each paper. El Nacional, which had the most articles in the analysis, published the least criticism, while Excelsior, El Informador and El Norte published a greater share of criticism than their share of the sample.

These data establish that Mexican newspapers, contrary to many critics' judgments, do publish criticism. However, this study also sought to determine whether the president himself was criticized. Table 4 gives the breakdown of criticism between the president and cabinet ministers. This table makes it apparent that newspapers treat the president more gently than cabinet ministers, but it also indicates that the president is the recipient of a great deal of criticism. Of the 975 articles analyzed that focused on the

president, 4 percent were coded as strongest criticism. Altogether, 15 percent of commentary on the president was critical, compared with 35 percent on cabinet officials, summing across the three critical categories shows. Forty-seven percent of the commentary on the president is at the strongest praise level, compared with 31 percent of the commentary on cabinet ministers. The suspicion that columns were more critical than editorials, which generally represent the policy of the newspaper rather than one writer, was confirmed. Table 5 indicates that columns were more critical of the president and of cabinet ministers. For the president, 10 percent of editorials but 23 percent of columns fell into the three critical categories. Twenty-eight percent of editorials but 50 percent of columns dealing with cabinet officials were critical.

The remaining research question dealt with whether commentary on the president would be direct or indirect. Table 6 indicates that 36 percent of the criticism of the president was direct, compared with 57 percent of critical commentary on the cabinet ministers. Thus, two thirds of the presidential criticism is as popular knowledge says: indirect. At the praise end of the commentary spectrum, commentary on the president is two thirds direct, while a slightly greater amount of cabinet minister commentary is direct. Therefore it appears that Mexican writers are not afraid to write directly about the president; however,

they are much more likely to write directly about the president when they are praising him than when they are criticizing him.

Summary

Contrary to popular belief, Mexican newspapers criticize the president when he is in office. The six analyzed for this study have done so over the past 30 years to varying degrees. Conservative newspapers tend to criticize liberal presidents, although this is not a clearcut divider or predictor of a newspaper's position on the criticism-to-praise scale. While the trend seems to be downward (toward more criticism), this could be a reflection of Mexico's problems, which accelerated in the 1970s after several years of rapid economic expansion.

Cabinet ministers are the objects of criticism more frequently than are presidents, but 15 percent of the 1,425 editorials and columns analyzed that dealt with the president were critical. Columns are more critical than editorials, and the spread between editorials and columns commenting on cabinet ministers is greater than that for the president. Likewise, criticism of the president is less likely to be direct than is commentary that is critical of cabinet ministers.

Thus this study has disputed the myth that Mexican newspapers don't criticize the president but confirmed their tendency to soften their approach when dealing

with their nation's top political figure.

What remains to be determined is why the criticism and praise fluctuates from time to time and from newspaper to newspaper. To say that Novedades is convervative and that Excelsior is liberal fails to deal with the complexity of the newspaper's relationship to the society in general and the government in particular. Analyzing the newspapers' scores and their interaction with social, economic and political changes would help clarify what is happening in the newspapers.

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Pierce, Robert. Keeping the Flame. New York: Hastings House, 1979.

Reavis, Dick, "Stop the Presses," Texas Monthly, November 1978, pp. 191-198.

Rio Reynaga, Julio. "Anotaciones sobre los medios de informacion en Mexico" in Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Politica, ano XVIII, July- Sept. 1972, pp. 5-46.

Rojas Avendano, Mario. "El Periodismo," in Cincuenta anos de revolucion, T. IV, Mexico, 1962.

Rota, Josef, "A Comparative Study of Five Mexico City Newspapers: Makeup, Origin of News and Content Analysis," Master's thesis, Iberoamericana University, 1970.

Stevens, Evelyn P. Protest and Response in Mexico. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974.

Taylor, John. "Mexico: The Guessing Game" in Index on Censorship 5:4 (Winter 1976), pp. 34-38.

Torres, Teodoro. Periodismo. Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1937.

Weaver, David. "The Press and Government Restrictions: A Cross-National Study Over Time" in Gazette 23:3 (1977), pp. 152-170.

Table 1
Percentage of Newspaper Articles Critical of Government Officials
By Newspaper*and By Presidential Term

President	Nature of Commentary	1	2	3	4	5	6	Article N**
1951-1952	Criticism	69	14	0	63	44	75	
Aleman	Praise	31	86	0	37	56	25	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	13	17	0	15	9	8	62
1953-1958	Criticsm	33	2	0	65	0	36	
Ruiz Cortines	Praise	67	98	100	35	100	64	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	63	50	61	31	8	9	222
1959-1964	Criticism	21	20	0	27	35	21	
Lopez Mateos	Praise	79	80	100	73	65	79	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	94	48	57	17	19	15	250
1965-1970	Criticism	39	5	0	29	14	33	
Diaz Ordaz	Praise	61	95	100	71	86	67	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	48	62	41	21	21	3	196
1971-1976	Criticism	56	12	2	61	9	91	
Echeverria	Praise	44	88	98	39	91	9	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	75	86	94	38	31	10	334
1977-1980	Criticism	42	17	0	48	50	81	
Lopez Portillo	Praise	58	83	100	52	50	19	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Article N	36	77	112	20	16	31	292
							Total	1,356**
Total Critical	Percentage	39	12	2	50	23	61	23
Total Critical	Article N	128	42	2	76	25	54	327

*1. Excelsior 3. El Nacional 5. El Dictamen N = 1,376
2. Novedades 4. El Informador 6. El Norte Missing Data - 69

** 69 neutral articles were excluded from these computations.

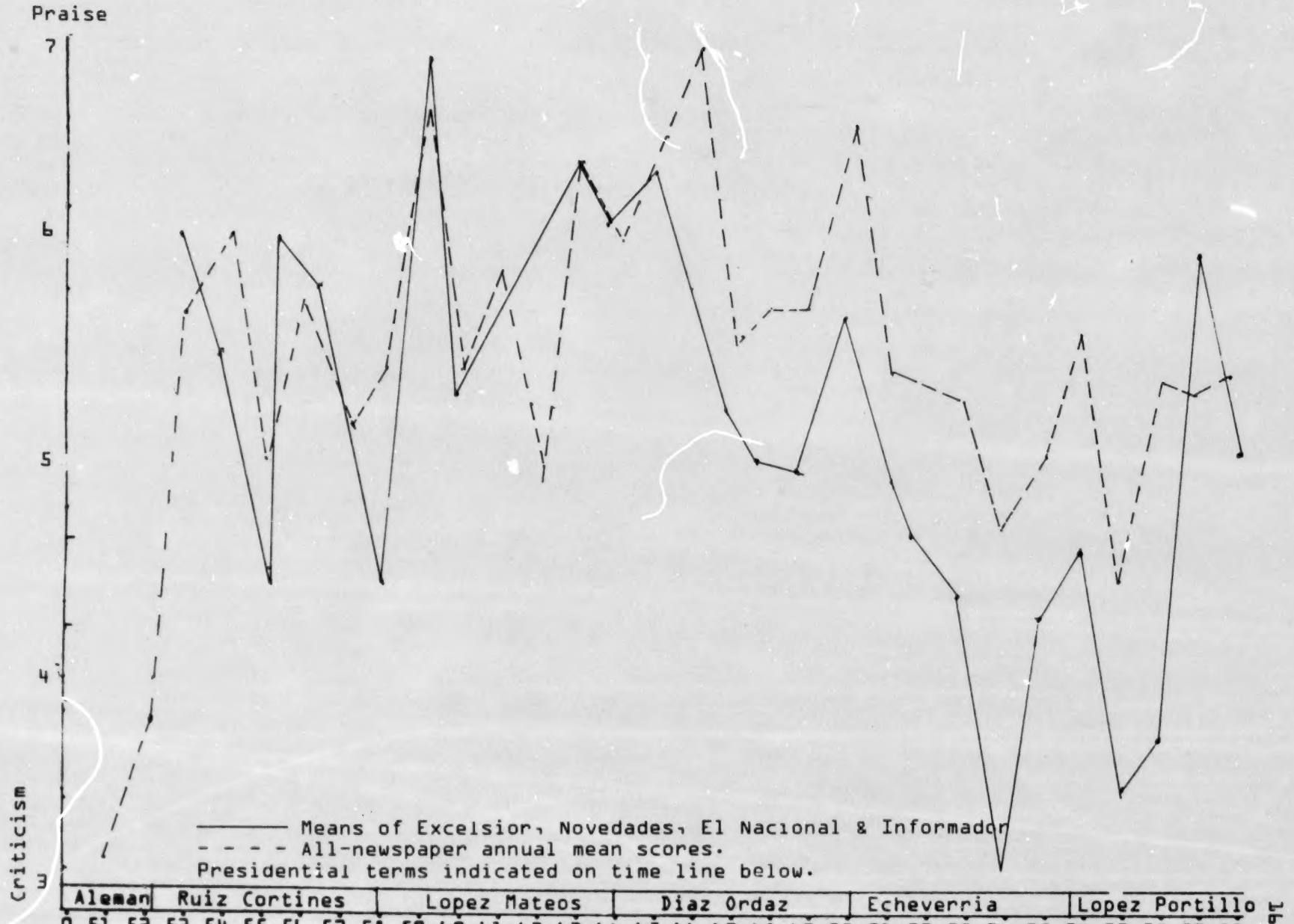

Figure 1
Plot of Newspaper Content Scores

Scaling is approximate.

Table 2

Criticism-to-Praise Mean Score for Each Newspaper by Year

Year	Newspaper* 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	N
1951	3.00	5.44	-	3.20	4.33	1.33	3.78	23
1952	3.43	5.07	-	3.18	4.33	3.80	4.07	45
1953	4.62	5.38	6.90	5.20	-	5.67	5.51	39
1954	5.67	5.77	6.43	4.71	-	3.00	5.75	61
1955	4.65	5.72	6.44	2.50	-	5.00	4.98	47
1956	4.14	6.80	6.78	5.33	5.72	5.00	5.51	43
1957	4.86	5.67	6.50	2.25	-	3.00	5.07	30
1958	5.86	6.13	6.90	2.33	-	3.40	5.28	36
1959	6.35	6.86	7.00	5.00	-	4.70	6.15	53
1960	6.21	3.00	7.00	4.38	5.00	4.17	5.38	45
1961	5.17	5.25	6.90	4.50	6.25	6.00	5.65	46
1962	4.40	3.83	6.33	0.00	5.14	-	4.92	37
1963	5.80	6.09	6.88	5.40	4.50	-	5.98	41
1964	5.08	6.67	6.90	4.25	3.00	-	5.74	34
1965	5.18	6.00	7.00	5.80	6.33	-	6.06	36
1966	6.75	7.00	6.75	6.00	-	4.33	6.38	24
1967	4.80	6.55	6.40	3.60	4.25	-	5.43	30
1968	4.56	6.67	6.33	3.50	5.67	-	5.50	26
1969	4.87	5.47	6.43	4.33	6.50	-	5.48	46
1970	4.29	6.58	6.80	4.67	6.44	-	6.11	56
1971	4.38	6.50	6.50	5.00	6.60	-	5.24	46
1972	4.13	6.00	5.67	4.00	4.17	-	5.22	37
1973	3.29	6.00	6.35	3.33	7.00	-	5.12	51
1974	3.33	5.17	6.27	1.00	7.00	-	4.70	40
1975	3.83	6.00	6.30	2.83	6.33	-	5.02	64
1976	3.90	5.13	6.63	3.81	6.00	-	5.40	81
1977	3.33	5.04	6.26	2.56	3.70	3.50	4.61	74
1978	4.67	2.52	6.31	4.50	4.60	2.33	5.18	84
1979	5.17	5.45	6.45	6.67	-	1.91	5.21	62
1980	4.56	5.65	6.39	4.80	7.00	2.43	5.30	88

*1. Excelsior
2. Novedades
3. El Nacional
4. El Informador
5. El Dictamen
6. El Norte
7. Average

Table 3
Percentage of Sample
And Percentage of Criticism by Newspaper

Newspaper	Percentage of Sample	Percentage of Criticism
Excelsior	23.9	39.0
Novedades	25.5	12.8
El Nacional	26.0	.6
El Informador	18.7	23.2
El Dictamen	7.6	7.6
El Norte	6.2	16.5
	99.9*	99.7

Article N = 1,425

Missing data 0

*Rounding errors cause the percentages to add to less than 100 percent.

Table 4

Percentage of Commentary
On President and Cabinet Ministers
At Each Criticism-to-Praise Level

Criticism to Praise Level	President	Cabinet Ministers
Strongest Criticism	4	10
Strong Criticism	4	12
Faint Criticism	7	13
Neutral	6	4
Faint Praise	12	11
Mild Praise	20	21
Strongest Praise	47	31
	100	100
Article N	975	276

Missing Data - 174

Table 5

Percentage of Editorials and Columns at Each Criticism-to-Praise Level By Object of Commentary

Criticism to Praise Level	President		Cabinet		Other	
	Edit.	Col.	Edit.	Col.	Edit.	Col.
Strongest criticism	2	7	6	18	11	12
Strong criticism	2	7	9	18	17	15
Faint criticism	6	9	13	14	17	18
Neutral	2	10	3	5	3	2
Faint praise	10	13	12	7	7	12
Mild praise	21	19	22	17	19	12
Strongest praise	57	34	35	21	27	29
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Article N	543	431	189	87	108	66

Missing Data - 1

Table 6

Percentage of Criticism and Praise That Is Direct and Indirect

	Critical			Neutral			Praise		
	Pres.	Cab.	Other	Pres.	Cab.	Other	Pres.	Cab.	Other
Direct	36	57	63	67	71	33	62	68	62
Indirect	64	43	37	33	24	67	38	32	38
Article N	153	96	78	45	7	4	763	167	91

N = 1,404

Missing Data 21

APPENDIX A

Coding Sheet

Reader's Name Genaro Granados T.
Newspaper & Date El Informador 29 Diciembre 1951
Article is: _____ Editorial _____ Column
Headline: El Ahorro Escolar

1/ Describe the nature of the aritcle by nam ng the government official with which it deals and characterizing the article by checking the appropriate bo .

Government agency or official name and position
{Record all names and titles applied to the official.}

_____

_____

The primary aim of the article appears to be to:
__a/ State the government official's position or philosophy on an issue.
__b/ Present the newspaper's or columnist's philosophy on an issue.
__c/ Describe a ceremony in which the official participated.
__d/ Discuss and ideology.
__e/ Praise the Revolution.
__f/ Comment on a government action or policy.
__g/ Other {Specify}.

_____

_____

2/ How would you rank what the article says about the government official on this 7-point criticism-to-praise scale? Encircle the number that you think applies.

Strongest Strongest
1 .....2.....3.....4....5.....6.....7
Criticism Neutral Praise

3/ Criticism or praise was _____ Direct or _____ Indirect?

4/ What words, phrases, sentences or literary devices in the article made you rank it as you did on the scale?

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B
List of Newspaper Issues
Missing from the Sample

El Norte, Monterrey, Nuevo Leon

Oct. 29, 1953
Jan. 20, April 14 and Aug. 30, 1955
June 7, 1956
June 29, Oct. 23, 26 and 28, Dec. 19, 1957
Dec. 1 and 27, 1958
Oct. 17, 1960
July 23 and 29, Nov. 15 and 27, 1961
April 10 and 15, June 2 and 19, July 3 and 18, Oct. 3, 1962
All issues of 1963-65, 1968-74, 1976
Jan. 3, 19, 21 and 22, Oct. 27 and Dec. 29, 1967
March 12 and June 14, 1975
April 3 and 8, June 28, July 13 and 25, Aug. 4 and 13, 1977
Feb. 23, March 22 and Sept. 29, 1978

El Informador, Guadalajara, Jalisco

Aug. 14 and 30, 1953
March 7, 1959

El Dictamen, Veracruz, Veracruz

All issues of 1951, 1953-1955, 1957-1959
Sept. 17 and 19, 1965
Nov. 23, 1976

El Nacional, Mexico, D.F.

All issues of 1951 and 1952

Excelsior, Mexico, D.F.

Jan. 26, April 3, May 15, July 12, Sept. 11 and Nov. 12, 1951
March 24, April 7 and June 3, 1952
Aug. 30 and Nov. 17, 1953

Novedades, Mexico, D.F.

Nov. 27, 1961
Oct. 6 and 26, 1968
June 13, 1971

Appendix C

Number of Articles Analyzed by Newspaper by Year

Year	Newspaper 1	2	3	4	5	6	All
1951	6	9	0	5	0	3	23
1952	7	13	0	11	9	5	45
1953	13	8	10	5	0	3	39
1954	15	22	16	7	0	1	61
1955	20	11	9	6	0	1	47
1956	14	5	9	3	11	1	43
1957	7	9	8	4	0	2	30
1958	7	8	10	6	0	5	36
1959	20	7	12	4	0	10	53
1960	14	3	8	8	6	6	45
1961	17	12	10	2	4	1	46
1962	15	6	9	0**	7	0	37
1963	15	11	8	5	2	0	41
1964	13	6	10	4	1	0	34
1965	11	6	11	5	3	0	36
1966	4	5	8	4	0	3	24
1967	5	11	5	5	4	0	30
1968	9	6	6	2	3	0	26
1969	15	15	7	3	6	0	46
1970	7	24	10	6	9	0	56
1971	21	10	5	5	5	0	46
1972	8	9	9	5	6	0	37
1973	14	11	17	6	3	0	51
1974	12	12	11	3	2	0	40
1975	6	18	20	6	3	11	64
1976	10	24	27	11	9	0	81
1977	9	25	19	9	10	2	74
1978	12	15	39	4	5	9	84
1979	6	20	22	3	0	11	62
1980	9	23	36	5	1	14	88
Total	341	364	371	152	109	88	1,425

*1. Excelsior
2. Novedades
3. El Nacional
4. El Informador
5. El Dictamen
6. El Norte

**All issues of the 10-newspaper sample were read, but no commentary was found on the president or cabinet.